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MCCARTHY'S MISTAKE

By FRANK CHODOROV

Now that Joe McCarthy has been returned to the Senate, one can point out a tactical error in his campaign to rid the government of Communists without being lined up with his enemies. It is because I admire Joe (we met at a cocktail party, and that, in Washington, is sufficient basis for a first-name relationship), and count myself on his side, that I indulge an urge to lecture him. I hope that this bit of gratuitous advice will be taken in the spirit in which it is given, toward the greater effectiveness of his gallant fight. Even he will admit, I am sure, that so far he has done little more than to prove the ubiquity of Communists in this monstrosity called government; very few have been driven out.

Joe could not have done more than he did simply because he assumed that it is possible to rid the bureaucracy of Communists. That was a mistake. Had he looked into the nature of bureaucracy he would have seen that it is the proper habitat of Communists, even as fleas belong in a dog's fur. Also, had he taken a closer look at Communism, he would have realized that the bureaucracy is the right place for its propagation. Even under the best circumstances he could not have rid the bureaucracy of Communists; they multiply in that environment faster than the best exterminator could eliminate them.

A dog lover knows that the job of de-fleaing is a recurrent one; yet, he goes at it regularly simply because the dog is of some value to him. On the other hand, the de-lousing of the bureaucracy is a monumental task, requiring a standing army of exterminators (who are likely to become infected themselves), and even if it is successful what have you got?

The only thing to do, if you want to rid the bureaucracy of Communists, is to abolish the bureaucracy. It is a job of killing, not cleaning. That is the task that Joe should address himself to during the next six years, and, as I shall point out later, he is in position to act as executioner. Before I go into that, however, it is necessary to explain why Communists have an incurable affinity for the bureaucracy, why they cannot possibly be kept out of it.

THE IMPRESSION is about that a Communist is one whose first loyalty is to the Soviet Union. That is a misleading over-simplification. There are undoubtedly many in this country who are convinced that heaven lies behind the Iron Curtain (although they seem loathe to migrate there), and whose conviction is such that treason to their native

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land assumes the grandeur of a holy cause. Yet, these must be comparatively few in number, simply because an over-staffed "underground" operation is self-defeating.

A Communist is not necessarily a Soviet-lover. He is, rather, anyone who, consciously or unwittingly, advocates measures that prepare the way for a regime of Communism. And a regime of Communism is one in which the political authority exercises complete control of the nation's economy; to do so effectively it must have control of thought and behavior. In short, Communism is the transference of all power from Society to the State. It is the negation of the individual.

And that's all that Communism is. There are some psycopaths who like to endow Communism with social purposes, who still mouth the "classless society" utopianisms of Karl Marx. In his own time, the anarchist Bakunin told Marx that his proposal would lead to the worst form of tyranny the world had ever known. Now that we have seen it in operation we know that Communism is nothing but a dictatorship — period.

Well then, anyone who advocates the transference of power to the State, no matter how small and for any reason, is to that extent favoring the advent of Communism. The doctor who advocates socialized medicine is unknowingly aiding that cause, even though his patriotism is unquestionable. So too is the teacher, with a D.A.R. background, who would put control of our schools in the hands of the central government. And though he stands rigidly at attention whenever "The Star Spangled Banner" is played, the banker or industrialist paves the road toward Communism when he backs a spending program that in effect makes foreign trade a State monopoly. Such people cannot be called Communists, but they could not do much more for the coming of Communism — a regime of Statism — if they were.

To be sure, the advocates of "social legislation" will counter with the assertion that State power can be contained, that it can be limited to the special purposes stated in the legislation. But the assertion completely ignores both history and the nature of the State. The State has always been an anti-social organization; its only business is the exercise of power; it lives for and thrives on power. Every power acquired by the State, either by conquest or by legislation, is merely an appetizer for more. Society can protect itself from the State only by recognizing it for what it inherently is, and jealously guarding itself against it.

If Communism, under any name, comes to America it will not be by way of Moscow. Nor will it be ushered in by the slimy traitors in our midst, nor yet by the muddle-headed soap boxers, in and out of college, who preach the mumbo-jumbo of Karl Marx.

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It will have been welded into our way of life by the "hundred percenters" who helped rob Society of one power after another and transferred it to the State.

WHEN YOU strip Communism of its verbiage, and see it as nothing but the reincarnation of Pharoism, Neroism, Czarism, all rolled into one, you begin to realize why the bureaucratic mind takes to it. And you understand why the bureaucracy tends to make its inmates Communist-minded, even though the predisposition did not exist on entrance.

Theoretically, a bureau is a functioning arm of the Executive — a group of servants who put his plans into operation. Theoretically, again, the President may terminate the agency when, in his opinion, the specific job has been finished. And, also theoretically, Congress may kill it by financial starvation.

In point of fact, however, the main business of a bureau, once started, is to look after its own perpetuation. It tries, in the first place, to free itself of dependence on the elected authorities by building up a vested interest in its activities; this it does by dispensing special privileges. Thus, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, established by President Hoover as a temporary agency, has endeared itself to many so-called businessmen (including their workers and servicers) by the simple device to helping them stay in business; with the cooperation of this privileged group the agency has managed to wangle out of Congress twenty odd years of life.

The second step in this self-perpetuation operation is to promote with the public the idea that the agency is essential to the well-being of the country. Every agency is born with a "social advance" spoon in its mouth, and it is to the interest of the bureaucrats that this fiction be kept alive; for this purpose it conducts a "public relations" program. Some considerable portion of the money appropriated to it by Congress is misappropriated to advertise the agency's good works. A good-sized book could be written on the unauthorized efforts of the bureaucracy to "sell" itself to the public; taken as a whole, the agencies constitute the largest, most expensive and most daring lobby in Washington, having for its objective nothing else than the perpetuation of the bureaus, the enlargement of their powers, the increase of their budgets.

In their efforts to perpetuate themselves, and to free themselves from their constitutional creators, the agencies are aided by the "democratic" process: since every bureau is a source of jobs for faithful party workers, the elected authorities are loathe to see them closed up. The bureaucracy becomes a "pork barrel" of proportions.

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In one way or another, then, the bureaucracy has become a fourth branch of the government, one never contemplated by the Founding Fathers. It is completely independent of the electorate. Far from being subservient to the President and Congress, it dominates them, not only with its propaganda methods, but also by paying close attention to the details which the elected officials are incapable of handling: writing bills, preparing tendentious reports, issuing mimeographed "research" in favor of our purposes. The bureacracy is on the job of running the government twenty-four hours a day. In effect, it is the government.

THE BOYS and girls who enter the "service" are probably attracted to it in the first place by the pay, which is higher than private business can afford for comparable work. Then there is the "security" inducement. Soon they learn that playing the bureaucratic game has another emolument: a sense of importance. Maybe conscience has something to do with it; but from the G3 clerk (salary $2,940) to the head of a department, every government employee begins to believe that the country rests on his or her shoulders; they devour their own propaganda.

They develop a Communist mentality. The man who becomes a Communist does so because he believes the world would be a better place to live in if Communism were installed, with himself in a key position. It follows that those who do not agree with him are both ignorant and sinful. In like manner, the bureaucrat urging socialized medicine or nationalized education or bigger and better regulations is impressed with the stupidity and the cupidity of the opposition; these are an inferior people and must be brought to toe. How? By political power. But, is not political power the essence of Communism?

For those who are now coming out of college, or have graduated within the last twenty years, this Communist mentality is not hard to acquire. They have been well inured to the thought that government can make men healthy, wealthy and wise — given sufficient power and taxes. The highest ideal presented to them in their undergraduate days is that of taking part in the uplifting of the world by means of coercion.

These graduates are the labor pool from which the bureaucracy draws its talent. How long before that environment develops in them the conviction of destiny, the smugness of an elite, the disdain of those who work for a living, the lust for power? That is, how long before they develop a Communist psychology?

Nothing, then, will rid the government of Communists other than to put the axe to the bureaucracy. And ruthlessly. Joe, as I said, is in good position to wield the axe. For, if the organization of the Senate follows custom, he will be Chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department; he will thus be in strategic position to cut and kill appropriations for the bureaucracy; which means he will be able to halt the trend toward Communism.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* — FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

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Aftermath: If any of our readers believe that these post-election days constitute — for the victors — a period of self-satisfied calm, punctuated only by contented snores from Union League Clubs, they must revise their ideas. The fight has just begun.

Within twenty-four hours of Stevenson's fine "conceding message" to Ike, the alert GOP "liberals", who have run with hares and hunted with hounds, began to talk of how Ike won by the sheer power of his personality and how he owed "nothing to anybody". This view was regarded by GOP professionals as "stuff and nonsense". They suspected that the "liberals" wanted to surround the General as quickly as possible, get a hastily selected cabinet sympathetic to themselves, exclude the politicos and to shape policy along "liberal" lines. Hence it was not surprising to hear GOP Party Chairman Summerfield tell the press that the victory could have been won by Taft or any other Republican candidate. (Taft chimed in.) These were not unconsidered statements.

Mr. Summerfield knows that Ike owes his victory to those who voted for him and he knows where the votes came from — that's his business. He did not have to hark to Mr. James A. Farley who said (*New York Times*, November 9) that one important cause of the Democratic defeat was "the loss of the Catholic vote". Summerfield realizes that McCarthy is, politically, the bell-wether of that flock. His esteem for the Senator from Wisconsin is high. It may be that the term "Catholic vote" is too broad. Spot checks indicate that Irish and Polish Catholic areas revolted against the Democratic Administration. We do not know about other subdivisions of this "vote". A lot of study is probably being given to the thousands of election districts and the figures are being collated.

But, even without collation, Summerfield would know where the Ike votes did not come from. The Negro vote held pretty solid for Stevenson, a quick survey shows. So did the Jewish vote. A GOP election specialist on New York made a brief check of districts in Manhattan which are predominantly Jewish. He found them proportionately as strong for Stevenson as they were for Lehman in the Lehman-Dulles election of 1950.

All these things, Mr. Summerfield as chief of the party organization is undoubtedly reporting to the President-designate. And he will have more to communicate as time goes on. Also, press reports from Augusta, Georgia, where Ike is sojourning, say that Eisenhower is now believed "due to act slowly in choosing his cabinet". That wasn't what the "liberal" commentators were saying last week on the morning after. Someone beside the "liberals" must have been talking to the General.

This morning we hear from a GOP party source that the General has specified the following as a rule: no party conference will be held unless some representative of the Taft wing is present. Senator Millikin, a close friend of Taft, has visited Augusta.

The name of Senator Lodge is much in the news. In the Capital, especially on the Hill, Lodge does not enjoy the esteem awarded him in much of the press. Those who have watched him in meetings of the GOP policy committee have never been much impressed with his knowledge and ability in legislative matters. Even in foreign policy discussions, he has often failed to show sufficient "background" to hold his own in arguments with other Senators. "Too low a calibre" for major cabinet post — is one summation. "Ike cannot afford a Stettinius", is another. (Edward F. Stettinius, the none-too-bright Secretary of State in 1944-45.)

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Post Mortem: If we seem to emphasize too heavily the role of racial and religious groups in the election of Ike, we should correct such an impression. The professionals cannot afford to dismiss the problem of "why did we win?" by saying "the people just wanted a change". They have to examine the results meticulously and find out what groups were responsible. Politicians' charts of election districts contain this particular geography. We must report what professionals consider the "why". Nor is that necessarily a narrow view.

The one pollster — many in the Capital agree — who correctly called the turn was Mr. Samuel Lubell, author of the current best-seller, *The Future of American Politics*. Mr. Lubell, backed by the Rockefeller Foundation over some years, made an intensive study of population and election trends. With admirable courage and perception, he accurately forecasted the pattern of voting in this election. On the eve of the election, in the Scripps-Howard press (which deserves high marks for courage in running Lubell's reports), he predicted Ike's victory on the basis of trends in this pattern. Too many publications prefer to dodge discussion of this often touchy subject. Politicians cannot afford to discount it, for they must now chart their course for the 1954 and 1956 elections — the GOP to keep the voting groups which pushed them over the line, the Democrats to win them over to their side.

Another point: Wise GOP professionals, now that the period of gloating is over, are realistically correcting initial and too enthusiastic impressions. One is that "Ike got in on a *popular* landslide". That is not true. He got in on an *electoral* landslide. Of the popular vote, he got 55.4 per cent. That, traditionally, has not constituted a "landslide". Senator Taft yesterday, in the Cincinnati *Times-Star*, pointed out that Harding won in 1920 with 64 per cent; Coolidge in 1924 with 65 per cent; Hoover in 1928 with 59 per cent; Roosevelt in 1936 with 62 per cent. These were landslides.

Taft, reviewing this revised picture, said that the Democrats got their regular "standard" vote and most of the "so-called independent vote"; but that Ike won the "uninterested" vote, those "who did not trouble to vote in previous elections". This picture serves as a sobering reminder to Republicans who on the morrow of the election had visions of easily staying in power for decades. It also serves — for the GOP political strategists — as a *vade mecum* to enable them to retain the mass of new and "previously uninterested" voters who brought about the victory.

Sounds of Transition: Yesterday was Armistice Day, a holiday for everyone — save staffs on Capitol Hill. There, Republican researchers were busy fulfilling requests from politicos in the constituencies. Some of the 3,000 GOP County Committeemen wanted to know how many Federal jobs would be available for the faithful once the new Administration takes over. The staffs were busy trying to find out. The abolition of the bureaucracy, which Mr. Chodorov urges elsewhere in this issue, will not prove an easy task.

—— Old-timers say that the number of jobs "protected by Civil Service" — as the Washington papers have been saying — are over-estimated. True, these civil servants cannot be fired and the "faithful" put in their places. But Congress can abolish jobs. Congressman John Taber, who is a budget cutter of long experience will head the House Appropriations Committee. He has acquired a violent aversion not only to many Executive positions, but also to whole subdivisions of the Executive arm of the Government. There will be a conflict between the GOP politicos, looking for jobs to reward their followers, and Congressmen who want economy.

—— Members of investigating staffs wonder how much incineration is already going on in Executive offices downtown. They are convinced that many files and records are being destroyed to protect the outgoing officials against future probes by Congress.

—— Far from deserting the field of Communists-in-Government, Senator McCarthy will probably still have lots to do about such matters — according to staff members on the Hill. It is no easy task — even with a willing and cooperative Executive — to run down all of these people, and to expel them.

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Many have "connections" with GOP "liberals" who will seek to protect them. Additionally, there will be probes of Communist infiltration in fields outside the Government — in education (already under way), in foundations, movies, etc.

Bella and the Schools: Look for cries of consternation all over the country under the direction and leadership of the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, which is the Politburo of the heavily subsidized and powerful National Education Association, and its affiliates, when Bella V. Dodd really begins to unburden her soul about the so-called "Progressive" educators and the Communist conspiracy in the public schools.

For ten years (1935-1945) Dr. Dodd was by long odds the most powerful, resourceful and indefatigable commissar of the American Communist Party in the field of education. But now Dr. Dodd has renounced Communism and has already set out to undo as much as she can of the evil she fostered as an instrument of the Communist conspiracy. She has already appeared before her ancient enemy, the New York State Board of Higher Education, named Communists on the faculties of borough colleges who have since been suspended or dismissed and told of the Communist domination of the New York State Teachers Union and of the methods employed by underground Communist teachers in spreading Communist infection among school children.

But, most importantly, she has appeared before the Senate Internal Security Committee and has begun testimony to be concluded at later sessions on so-called "Progressive" education: how it was eagerly seized upon and championed by the Comintern as the ideal system for limiting the ability of children in capitalist societies to read, write and think or act for themselves, and so to cause them to depend upon the state for a guaranteed livelihood and for protection against the hazards caused by their inadequate training for the battle of life. She is obliged, now, by her vows and her duties in penance to tell the truth. Watch for the fireworks when she turns her formidable artillery on the political commissars of the NEA.

Radio Front: "What's happened and is happening in Europe is not difficult to understand. It is quite simple. Of course, one cause of the trouble is Europe's wars — not just this last war but the First World War — both of which have saddled Europe with terrible losses and terrible debts. However, Europe could recover from the war damage. What Europe cannot recover from is the political damage. And the political damage comes from one thing and one thing alone — Europe's socialism."

The above is taken from a recent broadcast by John T. Flynn, a regular feature entitled "Behind the Headlines", sponsored by America's Future, Inc. Flynn, author of *The Road Ahead* and *While You Slept*, now regularly talks over this program and another, "Americans, Speak Up", to hundreds of stations in some 42 states of the Union. In California, for instance, over 30 local stations relay his broadcasts. For information concerning these broadcasts and the relaying stations, apply to America's Future, Inc., 210 East 43rd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Book Front: John Underhill, former *New York Times* reporter, has written a book giving a conservative's picture of politics in the past decade, including this year's campaign. Henry Regnery Company will have it on their spring 1953 list.

The *New York Times* book section has loosened up and given reviews to two books gotten out by the courageous firm of Devin-Adair, publishers of Senator McCarthy's books. (The two books are *Cancer* by Boris Sokoloff and *The Newman Way* by Sean O'Faolain.) A sign of the times?

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